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Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

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There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

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In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

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After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

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[802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

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This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

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There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken. This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tōkai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . .," there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.[67] For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

and also:

A F [577]

The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

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These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.[68] The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Uwanoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.[69] The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

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[67] *Sekai*, No. 90: 70.
[68] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51-52.
[69] *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46-48.

was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

> Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

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[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,[74] but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tōyū Zakki we read that,

> Lesser samurai such as the pages or horse handlers made their incomes from trips on merchant vessels to Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. One such trip was worth about 30 ryō in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryō on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryō in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryō.

Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhan Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]: There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tōi Shūran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

> Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi:* "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit." [75]

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.

cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[74] Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgyō shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidō), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

[75] *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents." and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

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moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village." [26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 [29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . , *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

[P. 72 (B)]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra*.

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

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appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

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brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and reserved, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we